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No. 878

Bulletin of the 'KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY'

News Agency



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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20 March 1980

SOUTH AND EAST ASIA REPORT

No. 878

BULLETIN OF THE 'KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY' NEWS AGENCY

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao and French No 11, Nov 79
pp 1-22

With minor exceptions this Report is a complete translation of KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY [RAMPART OF THE GOOD CITIZEN], purported to be the news agency of "KPMD" [KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY]. This document was originally published in Paris as a 22-page bulletin, dated November, 1979. All articles were printed in Lao, except where otherwise indicated.

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COVER PAGE, MASTHEAD, INTRODUCTORY INFORMATION

Cover Page Information

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in French No 11, Nov 79

[Text] [Title:] KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY [Rampart of the Good Citizen]

Monthly newspaper LE RASSEMBLEMENT DES CITOYEN LAO [The Assembly of Lao Citizens]

Registration No 46340, 4 January 1979

1st year [of publication] No 11, Issue of November 1979

Printer and office: 56 rue Meslay in Paris 3rd [Arrondissement] France

Telephone: 272 56 83

Introductory Remarks

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 1

[Text] In Laos, the dogs don't bark any longer.

Various press agencies in France have published some most interesting news which we Lao believe to be true. That is that after the North Keo [pejorative term for Vietnamese], have passed through a location, it is impossible to hear dogs barking because they eat dogs. The skinnier, more puny flea-bitten, filth-eating the beast is, the more they love to eat it. Be that as it may, this is not a new story for newsmen. In America, there are headline-grabbing reports that people are stealing dogs to eat. There are French television reports of Prince Sihanouk, a well-known personage in France who says that "Khmers bring dogs to trade with the Keo troops for rice because the Keo eat dogs." That's right, say the listeners, laughing.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE 'KPMD' [RAMPART OF THE GOOD CITIZEN] NEWS AGENCY

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 1

[Text] The News and General Control Committee is honored to announce to its readers that the KPMD News Agency has been delayed in publishing beyond the scheduled date. The reason is that the committee has concentrated all its efforts for the common good and it vows never to stop. As for this delay of many weeks, we ask the readers' forgiveness and understanding.

Keo Suphan Chanthasiri and his group will arrange for mailings as desired. If there are any Lao living near him in that state, please get in touch with him. Send the important information to him promptly. Don't be silent and lonely. If anyone knows this news and wants to read about and know things about society and politics in Laos or Lao exiles, then demonstrate your desires to this news agency. You will be answered and will receive various documents, notably about preparations for the Congress of Lao Exiles and others... We are waiting to serve you who are of sincere good will. Please get in touch with us at any time. Laos belongs to all Lao. This is not a dream, so let's help each other.

The KPMD News Agency is formally registered as #46340 dated 4 January 1979 with a monthly periodicity. It is published with the efforts and sacrifice of the committee. Each issue is 10 francs. It will be published continuously without fail. Some day you of good will may sympathize and put forth effort for the common good of Laos. The path to Lao national salvation and support for the national salvation of Laos is correct and is a certainty. It will be absolutely carried out and nothing will stop us and nothing will frighten us.

Directors

*Somlith Thammabanvong, joining with the leadership of PMD [probably good citizens]

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*Representative in Nancy--Khamla Sisavat

*Representative in Med Bokmi--Heuan Lekloksavangheuan

The PMD committee wishes happiness throughout the new year to Li Tou Yia who has a good son in law and a new daughter.

DAY OF CELEBRATION OF OUR RIGHTS

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 2

[Text] Under the leadership of Prince Mangkhara Souvannaphoumma, the Lao branch of the Human Rights Organization on 9 December 1979 began at 1300 hours in the Trocadero in the center of Paris, France in front of the Eiffel Tower in the 16th Arrondissement, Paris. The Lao who came from the provinces and from Europe joined together in ranks holding the red flag with the three-headed elephant, shining brilliantly before the masses numbering tens of thousands in the center of Paris.

It can be seen, truly brought together, the nation is foremost in the heart... The Lao national anthem resounded loudly throughout the hall..... The truth is the truth and may you who are far away be deeply aware and take it to heart.....

Joining together in the march and demonstration on this occasion were Kampucheans, free South Vietnamese, French of Indochinese descent and French people stretching out in a line of many kilometers. The Kampucheans, Lao, and South Vietnamese sang their national anthems in alphabetical order (A,B,C). The speeches, ceremonies and flag salutes out of the way, the march was organized in alphabetical order (A,B,C) and headed for the offices of the international organization UNESCO with the national anthems and traditional songs resounding throughout the parade... It was truly joyful, this struggle for national salvation.

Beneath a light rain the parade moved slowly, sending its plea throughout the streets and avenues with the important aspects summarized as follows:

*Respect for human rights in Laos, Kampuchea and South Vietnam...

*Respect the rights of freedom of humanity in Laos, Kampuchea and South Vietnam...

*It was said most often that Pham Van Dong was a murderer and assassin...

The French people stood looking on along the streets and avenues, applauding thunderously in support. Many of them raised their hands giving the "V," the symbol for "Victory," to us...

The curses shouted out by the Kampucheans, Lao and Vietnamese were:

--Down with North Vietnam and Pham Van Dong!

--Hanoi and North Vietnam, get the troops out of Laos right now and unconditionally!

--Hanoi and North Vietnam, get the troops out of Kampuchea right now and unconditionally!

--Return freedom and independence to Laos and Kampuchea!

--North Vietnam, get your army and others out of Laos and Kampuchea!

--Pham Van Dong, the bloodsucker, Pham Van Dong, the murderer!

--United Nations, come to liberate Laos and Kampuchea!

--May Laos and Kampuchea be neutral under the protection of the United Nations!

Those appeals and those curses were on hundreds of signs in French and English.

The KPMD News Agency wishes to praise and encourage this... It is pleased beyond words, it is glad to lead the resolute determination of the Lao people near and far which is a spirit of patriotism, a spirit of love of one's birthplace and homeland with one type of struggle among many. The organizations, associations, groups and committees promoting and supporting national salvation, carrying the signs and slogans also had many individuals participating who became hoarse, such as the chairman of the organizers for the "Lao Congress" who extended his praise and respects to the Lao women who nearly equaled the number of men.

It is hoped that on the next occasions there will be even more than at this time, equaling the 10,000 Kampucheans and free Vietnamese. It is hoped that those of you who live in the United States, Australia, Thailand and our own country will take great pride and we hope that we will see those of you living in third countries joining in when the announcements are made in the future. May we be victorious!

FREEDOM, FREEDOM, FREEDOM

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 pp 3, 5

[Article by Arom Lyfoung]

[Text] "Everything has its atmosphere and scope." This sentence will help the reader understand the content of this article.

Freedom also has its atmosphere "it is translated as environment" and scope. The freedom I am writing about is public freedom "translated as the masses"--in French it is *libertes publiques*--and you should note that in French there are many freedoms because they have the letter "S."

We Lao have arrived in a country which is widely known for its freedom, but there are some of you who use this freedom incorrectly, that is to say beyond proper limits--which in French is called "*liberte naturelle*." This means that anyone who wants to say something can just go ahead and say it naturally. By this I mean with no governing principles. Now we Lao are living in new circumstances, i.e., we have freedom. But we should use it correctly in line with the situation and circumstances (this means time and place). We should turn around and look back. After Laos received its independence in 1945, an independence given by others without a great sacrifice of blood and flesh, we still were not able to maintain our independence. In 1973, peace came once again, given to the Lao by foreigners and guaranteed by them. We were still unable to maintain and use the peace and so we brought each other across the Mekong after which we wound up in countries that had freedom (France, for example). We still are not able to use peace. For example, anyone has the right to speak which sometimes is abused. This leads to conversations and understandings that are not appropriate. We also have had independence, we've also had peace, and we've also had freedom, but we still do not use it. Where do things go wrong?? The theory is good but we can't put it to work. The point where things go wrong is that we, ourselves, just can't use it. What can we do to be able to use it? What is the procedure? This depends on truth. Is truth, put simply, that we don't lie to each other? It is absolutely correct that we don't lie to each other. If we lie to each other just once, on subsequent occasions,

suspicion will lead to mistrust. This, and mutual mistrust. Right now we frequently lie to each other. This means that we don't tell the truth to each other; that reality comes from that which we know, see, hear and read. There are still others who know, see, hear and read as we do. That is a fact. [Phrase illegible] There must be a reason for it. There must be study and an interpretation of the meaning. There must be consideration and a collective agreement. This is a valuable reality.

I would like to address freedom once again. All of us Lao like freedom (other people are probably the same). I think the kind of freedom we like is as follows:

1) Freedom that has limits--what limits? This is with the responsibility of each individual, taking responsibility for the use of freedom. This means that the rights of the individual concerned must have limits. With limits, it follows that there must be "discretion." In French this is called (discretion). This means that freedom should be (droit positif) which is different from (liberte naturelle). It has limits. Aside from responsibility in freedom, there are guarantees of freedom; because, for example, if we use the right to curse, we must have a guarantee of what we said in the sense that the group will not retaliate in response to the curse. This means that we must be responsible and stand behind our freedom. If we curse ourselves, how could we do it, because how could we assault ourselves--therefore this is related to the following point:

2) The freedom of equality (egalite). For example, we curse because we consider it our right of freedom to do so--but what of our being cursed? This is what should be equal, because in that manner this equality in freedom is related to the next point:

3) Respect (respect [in French]). If we have mutual respect, equality and the limits of freedom will come on their own. However, anytime we do not have mutual respect, freedom is used in a way that we should respect each other [as published], in particular respect for the individual.

The above-mentioned three points are an important basis in using one's freedom within limits. But that is only the theory. In practice, how is freedom demonstrated so that it has that basis??

Freedom is demonstrated by:

--Freedom of thought--liberte de la pensee

--Freedom of opinion--liberte d'opinion

--Freedom of religion--liberte religieuse

--Freedom of education and knowledge--liberte de l'enseignement

--Freedom of the press--liberte de la presse

--Freedom of association--liberte de reunion

--Freedom to be happy, attend the theater, cinema and watch television, etc.

--Freedom of the "person" and "social rights"

--Freedom of occupation

--Freedom to own property

--Freedom to build industry and carry on commerce

--Freedom of travel

It can be seen that there are really a lot of freedoms, but they have limits. It is not like the Keo who when they want something, they just come and grab it. That kind of thing lacks the basis of the above-mentioned three points. In particular it lacks any respect for being the masters of the nation. Some of us Lao have the attitude of the Keo. Freedom is for them alone and they don't think about the rights of equality and mutual respect, which leads to further misunderstanding. At this time I wish to close with this: I wish only to write the word "freedom" in lines. Between this issue's publication and the time you read the next issue, I hope that you will consider this matter of freedom, examine its scope and atmosphere on the basis of the three points mentioned above. If you understand these many freedoms well, the word "democracy" will come from the foundation of freedom itself.

Paris, 11 November 1979

Arom Lyfoung

7, Impasse Louis Barye
94000 Creteil, France

APPEAL OF HIS HIGHNESS PRINCE MANGKHARA SOUVANNAPHOUMA ON THE OCCASION OF
THE 31ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in French No 11, Nov 79 pp 4, 6

[Text] French Friends, Cambodian Brothers, Vietnamese Brothers,

We are here once more, we Lao, meeting with you on this occasion to celebrate the universal declaration of the rights of man, of its rights and freedoms for which we have fought for and hoped for so much and which, today, have been crushed underfoot by despotic and bloodthirsty regimes.

Together with all of you, we Lao, having come from various regions of France and Europe, are here to cry out together to the world of our disarray, our thirst for justice, to defend our national being and to appeal to all the forces that love peace and liberty so that they will support us and assist us in restoring our fatherland to peace, neutrality and independence.

Following 1975 Laos was cast into the orbit of the imperialistic Sovietico-North Vietnamese who, unashamedly, have violated the neutrality and territorial sovereignty of our fatherland.

After this Hanoi has demonstrated its arrogance and today it rules as the master in Laos completely occupying that nation with its army of occupation of more than 100,000 men. The present so-called Lao Government exists only on paper and Laos (which today has neither a true parliament nor a constitution) has become a province of North Vietnam which is destroying our people by every means and without any reaction from the free world.

Thus today our nation, which has a population of less than 3 million inhabitants, has more than 500,000 Lao who are refugees in foreign lands. Following 1975 hundreds of thousands of government workers, soldiers, students, women and children were sent to their so-called reeducation camps.

The old king of Laos, himself, as well as his whole family, was arrested and deported to someplace on the Lao-North Vietnamese border.

Buddhism, which formerly was the state religion and the basis of all Lao traditions and customs, has today been reduced to its most rudimentary level. The bonzes have been forcibly defrocked and the pagodas, which formerly were gathering places and places of prayer have been changed into temples of shame and today are only the propaganda platforms for a doctrine which is inhuman and alien to our people!

It has been 4 years that these violations to the most basic rights of human beings go unpunished in Laos as well as Cambodia and Vietnam. This is too much!!!

Are we going to be accomplices to all these violations without reacting?

Are we going to let our fatherland disappear without doing something?

Are we going to permit this flagrant and inhuman genocide?

Therefore we are making this solemn appeal to all free Lao to make them conscious of the drama that is taking place in our land, to forget their old quarrels, to unite and fight together so that our parents, brothers and sisters can live [instead of] powerlessly submitting to the yoke which has been placed on them by the Kaysone-Pham Van Dong puppet regime.

We must have neither shame nor fear of expressing ourselves and to engage in concrete action because it is only thus that we can insure the rebuilding of our future, for ourselves and for our people.

We are therefore issuing an appeal to our Thai brothers to continue to receive their unfortunate Indochinese brothers and to receive them in order to alleviate their painful martyrdom.

We are appealing to the United Nations and all the governments of the world that love peace and justice to intervene with the heads of our nations to suppress the reeducation camps in order that our brothers and sisters may return to the firesides of their homes.

The free Lao also thank, at this point, all the nations and all the people who have received them but also want to make them understand that [the Lao's] most heartfelt wish is to be able to return to their homes as soon as possible.

For this the Lao desire only three things:

1. The unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Laos.
2. The real and complete respect for the legal and inalienable rights of man.

3. And that free and democratic elections, under international control take place in all the nations.

These are the only true conditions which will staunch this flow of refugees and will permit a return to peace in this part of the world.

Being aware of our struggle as well as that of our brothers in Cambodia and Vietnam, we Lao give them all our support in order to contribute together to the restoration of peace, justice and liberty to all the inhabitants of the Indochina peninsula.

Long live Laos!

Long live the union and fraternity of the people of Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos!

Our thanks to France and the French people for their hospitality and generosity.

Paris, 9 December 1979

Mangkhara Souvannaphouma

THE TEACHINGS OF BUDDHA

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in French No 11, Nov 79 pp 7, 9

[Text] One of [Buddha's] disciples, Malunkyaputta, posed 10 classic questions on metaphysical problems and begged for answers from Buddha. He then retired for his afternoon meditation after which he went to Buddha, saluted him, sat down beside him and said:

"Master, when I was alone in meditation this thought came to me: There are inexplicable problems which were cast aside or ignored by the Blessed One. They are: 1. Is the universe eternal or 2. is it not eternal, 3. is the universe finite or 4. is it infinite, 5. is the soul the same thing as the body or 6. is the soul one thing and the body another, 7. does Tathagata exist after death or 8. does it not exist after death, or 9. it (simultaneously) exists and does not exist after death, or 10. is it nonexistent and, at the same time, not nonexistent after death? The Blessed One did not explain these problems for me. This (attitude) does not please me. I do not appreciate it.

"If he does not explain it for me I will then quit the order and leave. If the Blessed One knows that the universe is eternal let him tell me. If the Blessed One does not know whether or not the universe is eternal, etc....then it would be honest for a person that does not know to say: 'I do not know, I do not see.'"

--Buddha's reply to Malunkyaputta should be beneficial to many millions of people who, in the world of today, lose precious time on metaphysical problems of this type and unnecessarily disturb the tranquility of their spirit:

--Have I ever told you, Malunkyaputta: 'Come Malunkyaputta, follow the holy way under my direction and I will explain these problems?'

--No my lord.

--Then, Malunkyaputta, have you yourself said to me: My Lord, I will follow the holy way under the holy direction of the Blessed One and the Blessed One will explain these problems?

--No my Lord.

--Even now, Malunkya-putta, I do not say: 'Come and follow the holy way under my direction, I will explain these problems for you.' Nor do you say to me: 'My Lord I will follow the holy way under the direction of the Blessed One and he will explain these problems.' Under these conditions, fool that you are, no one blames another (provided that the two individuals are free and neither is obligated to the other).

--Malunkya-putta, if someone says: 'I will not follow the holy way under the Blessed One since he has not explained these problems' you might die without these questions getting an answer from the Tathagata. This would be the same, Malunkya-putta, (just supposing), as if a man were seriously wounded by a poisoned arrow. His friends and parents bring a doctor. And the wounded man says: 'I will not allow the arrow to be removed before knowing who wounded me: whether or not he is a Ksatrya (the warrior caste), or a Brahmana (the priestly caste) or a Vaisya (merchant or farmer caste) or a Sudra (low caste); what his name is, and from which family he comes; if he is big, small or of average size; the village, town or city from which he comes; I will not allow this arrow to be removed before I know what kind of bow was used against me, what kind of cord was used with the bow, and before I know what kind of feather was used for the arrow.' Malunkya-putta, this man will die without knowing these things. Similarly, Malunkya-putta, if someone says: I will not follow the holy way under the Blessed One before he answers these questions for me, whether the universe is eternal or not, etc....he would die with these questions unanswered by the Tathagata.

The Buddha now explains for Malunkya-putta that the holy way is not dependent on these judgments. Regardless of the opinions one may have on these problems, there is birth, aging, deterioration, death, misfortune, bereavements, pain, suffering and grief "of which I proclaim a suspension 'that is to say Nirvana'" even in this life.

Therefore, Malunkya-putta, retain within your heart that which I have explained as explained and that which I have not explained as unexplained. What are the things that I have not explained? Whether or not the universe is eternal, etc....(those 10 problems), I have not explained them because it is not useful to explain them, they are not basically connected to the holy and spiritual life and because it does not lead to aversion, detachment, suspension, tranquility, profound penetration and the complete achievement of Nirvana. This is why I never spoke of this.

Now Malunkya-putta what have I explained? I have explained the birth of Dukkha, the suspension of Dukkha and the way that leads to the suspension of Dukkha. Why, Malunkya-putta, have I explained these things? Because it is useful, because it is basically connected to the holy and spiritual life, because it will lead to aversion, detachment, suspension, tranquility, profound penetration and the total achievement of Nirvana. That is why I have explained them.

THE KAYSONE PHOMVINAT PUPPET GOVERNMENT HAS ROBBED THE PEOPLE AGAIN AND
STOLEN THE NATION AGAIN

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 8

[Text] On Monday, 10 December 1979, from noon on, the Lao National Bank led by the Kaysone Phommarok ["Narok" meaning "to hell"] puppet government, in carrying out the orders of the North Keos who have planned for a long time to make Laos their very own, to make Laos a firm believer in the face of the world's problems; it has abolished the currency that they called the "liberation kip" which had been in circulation only briefly. Over and over and over again, the tears and blood of the people killed in floods are now subjected to the vagaries of a crazy revolution without end. In other words, this direct method of robbing the nation and robbing the people brings only weakness to Laos by its great waste. It is the second means by which Vietnam gains, not only in gobbling up Laos but in the economy and in extinguishing the breath of the Lao nation. We absolutely condemn the lack of being oneself, the cowardice, the lack of bravery to rise up of those Lao under the Keo control. Why are they so slow to do everything? We have read that you are true Lao and who do not like control and being a Keo colony, but your way of doing things is to give up and sell out the nation. You will die at the hands of the Keo. Why are you so afraid to die? So..hurry up and do everything, tens of thousands of national salvationists are waiting to support and join with you every day. Be quick to make this decision and don't delay. The Lao are always waiting for you.

["Phomvinat" is a play on words with "Phom" being the first syllable of the prime minister's last name and "vinat" meaning "to perish."]

ANNOUNCEMENT TO PREPARE FOR LAO CONGRESS

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 8

[Text] The correct path and one coming from the true Lao people is indeed correct because it represents the majority of the people and does not come from the thoughts and acts of those higher up as was the case in our era. We can't have that any more. Therefore, the Ad Hoc Committee at all locations in France, in the United States, and in Australia have been firmly resolved to bring this work to successful completion. The date and place of the meeting will be announced later. The central echelon in Paris is constantly looking for applications to set up branches. Please make your decision after reading this newsletter. In the event that you live great distances from one another, regardless of having sought refuge in the same country, in whatever state or province that still does not have a representative to carry on this vital national task, please make a decision to submit your application to us. In the event that you have not yet received information with the details of the congress, please remind us via this newsletter and we will make every effort to send the information to you right away. The Ad Hoc Committee wishes to praise the resolve of the great numbers of you who have submitted applications correctly and all of you who have sent letters and telephone calls in support of us.

PRINCIPLES OF BUDDHIST GOVERNMENT

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in French No 11, Nov 79 p 9

[Text] In the days when Buddha lived, just as today, there were rulers who ruled their lands unjustly. They imposed heavy taxes and inflicted cruel punishments. The people were oppressed, exploited, tortured and persecuted. The Buddha was deeply moved by this inhuman treatment. The Dhammapadatthakatha relates that he turned his attention to the problems of government. His ideas must be considered within the social, economic and political context of his time. He shows how an entire nation can become corrupted, degenerate and wretched when the heads of government, i.e., the king, the ministers and government functionaries themselves are corrupt and unjust. For a land to be happy it must have a just government. The principles of this just government are presented by the Buddha in his teachings on the "Ten Duties of the King" (Dasapitharajadhamma) which are given in the Jataka.

Today we replace the word king (Raja) of yesteryear with the word government. As a result the "Ten Duties of the King" are now applicable to all those who take part in government including the head of state, ministers, political leaders, members of legislatures and administrators.

1. The first of these ten duties is liberality, generosity and charity (Dana). The ruler must not be miserly nor be in love with riches and property but he must manage these riches and property for the good of the people.
2. A high moral character (Sila). He must never destroy life, cheat, rob or exploit others, commit adultery, lie or take intoxicants.
3. Sacrifice all for the good of the people (Pariccaga). He must be ready to sacrifice his comfort, his name, his fame and even his life in the interests of the people.
4. Honesty and integrity (Ajjava). He must act free of fear and favor in the exercise of his duties; he must be sincere in his intentions and must not fool the public.

5. Lovable and friendly (Maddava). He must have a sweet disposition.
6. Austerity in behavior (Tapa). He must lead a simple life and he must not allow himself to fall into luxury. He must be self-disciplined.
7. Absence of hate, ill will and enmity (Akkhadha). He must not hate anyone.
8. Nonviolence (Avihimsa), which means that not only must he not do ill to anyone but that he must also strive to make peace rule and prohibit war and anything implying violence and destruction of life.
9. Patience, forgiveness, tolerance, understanding (Khanti). He must be able to endure tests, difficulties and insults without losing his temper.
10. Nonopposition, nonobstruction (Avirodha). This means that he must not oppose the popular will and not thwart any measure that is beneficial to the wellbeing of the people. In other words he must be in harmony with the people.

It is impossible to say how happy a land would be that was ruled by men having these qualities. But this is not a utopia because in the past there were kings like Asoka in India who established their rule on the basis of these concepts.

AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 p 10

[Text] Responding to the appeal of "Association for Peace, Neutrality and Total Independence for Laos" dated 9 August 1979, we have organized the "Ad Hoc Committee" with a Secretariat of the National Congress which will diligently carry out its duties to achieve its goals.

This committee was established on 1 September 1979 because on this date the independence of Laos was proclaimed by His Majesty the Crown Prince Phetsarat. It is composed of intellectuals from all walks of life, both as individuals and as part of organizations, with nonaligned philosophies. They are specialists, students of history for research in the writing of papers to be used as the basis for submission to the "Ad Hoc Committee." When the works are compiled they will be further submitted to the Lao Congress, the master of the nation (Lao exiles). This will be named the "National Congress of the Masters of Laos."

After thorough consideration we think that international procedures should be followed in convening the congress; i.e., "An Experts' Committee" should be formed first which for us would be the Ad Hoc Committee. Following this would be the work of the "Plenipotentiary Committee" (ambassadorial). The next step would be the congress of the many organizations or countries.

In establishing the "Ad Hoc Committee," the political consciousness-raising as to the importance of the congress began with rejoicing on 15 September 1979 to celebrate the declaration of independence and unity of the Kingdom of Laos. Whether in Laos or abroad, in Europe or America, Australia or in Southeast Asia, Lao patriots and Lao nationalists in every location vigorously cursed North Vietnam which has made Laos an oppressed colony. They rose up and demonstrated their approval of the establishment of a congress to proclaim the founding of the "Lao People's Liberation Front" to carry out the political and salvation struggle plans to restore independence, sovereignty and equality and territorial integrity and neutrality to Laos.

Along with raising a spirit of patriotism, the "Ad Hoc Committee" also has completed the research and writing of the political manifesto and constitution of the "Lao Front for Liberation and National Salvation." This is to be the political and military sword of our struggle.

The important basic documents will be sent to all good citizens' and political organizations and will be officially submitted to important political personalities without regard to political ideology. We only ask that they be patriots and nationalists who are unwilling to let the North Keo become the masters of Laos. This will be to study and exchange views on the lower levels and motivate and persuade them to send representatives to join the National Congress.

The Ad Hoc Committee is of the opinion that carrying out this program is appropriate and in consonance with the wishes of all patriots and all organizations and so there must be a national spirit for the common struggle of liberation and national salvation. The congress is the one important goal with which to instill awareness in the international community and [gain] their support in this struggle. The Ad Hoc Committee calls upon all movements for political struggle and all organizations of good citizens and patriots as well as all important individuals who are patriots and nationalists to join together for our historic march. In concluding that which has been mentioned above, may we be determined in carrying on the future struggle and national duties left to us by our heroic combatants fighting to save the nation from the clutches of the North Keo and who will build a totally peaceful, independent and neutral Laos.

May the Three Gems [of Buddhism] be our refuge and protect and aid us.

1 DEC 79 COMMUNIQUE NO 2 OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in French No 11, Nov 79 p 11

[Text] In response to the appeal of the Union for Peace, Neutrality and the Complete Independence of Laos of 9 August 1979 the Ad Hoc Committee of the Secretariat of the National Congress was established and began to work actively to achieve its objective. The Ad Hoc Committee which was organized on 1 September 1979, the anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Kingdom of Laos, is made up of intellectuals of all persuasions, and is working in the nonpartisan spirit of technicians and analysts of history in order to submit the result of its work to the National Committee to prepare the documents intended for the National Congress.

The Ad Hoc Committee thinks that we must adopt the procedure generally employed to achieve a truly representative congress by stages: meeting of experts, meeting of plenipotentiaries and finally a general assembly of individuals and groups. The campaign to sensitize the opinion of patriots, initiated on 15 September 1979, the anniversary of Lao Unity, is in full swing both inside and out of the country.

The idea of the National Congress, holder of the sovereign right, meeting to adopt a political program and to establish the United Front for the Liberation of the Lao People is greeted and accepted with patriotic enthusiasm and warmth by all patriots who condemn the policy of political assimilation and colonialist domination of the Lao people by the North Vietnamese.

Along with this mobilization of patriotic opinion the Ad Hoc Committee has completed the drafting of the political program and statutes of the Front for Political and Military Struggle. These essential documents will be addressed to all the civic and political organizations and groupings and to political, nationalist and patriotic individuals, without discrimination, for basic discussion and to invite them in a fraternal spirit to participate in the work of the National Committee.

The Ad Hoc Committee believes that a step of this type will receive the approbation of all nationalist patriots. Only by the assembling of the National Congress can we make a claim for recognition of our struggle for liberation and for the support of international opinion.

A pressing appeal is made to all political struggle movements, to all civic and political organizations and to all nationalist patriots to resolutely become part of our national history and together to carry on the heroic and unfinished battle of our great leaders and fighters of the resistance.

For a new Laos struggling for: peace, neutrality and complete independence. May the Three Gems [of Buddhism] help us!

APPARENT POLITICAL PLATFORM

Paris KAMPHENG PHOLMOUANGDY in Lao No 11, Nov 79 pp 12-22

[Unsigned, unattributed item]

[Text] I--On General Political Matters in the Liberation of the Lao Nation

1. The recent history of the international efforts to solve the problems of the Kingdom of Laos by the great powers in the establishment of peace and stability on the Indochina peninsula and in Southeast Asia clearly shows the erroneous bases of that type of politics.

France met with failure in solving the Lao question when it hoped to make Laos independent first as a model for North and South Vietnam and Kampuchea to follow in solving their own political problems.

Then the United States came to take France's place on the Indochinese peninsula to carry out the same policy which met with the same failure.

The 1954 Geneva Convention stopped the first Indochina war, but it left Laos to solve its own problem of internal national reconciliation forgetting that the "Pathet Lao" were the tools of the North Vietnamese which they were to use to gobble up Laos as their own colony.

The 1962 Geneva Convention, sponsored by 13 nations to solve the Lao question, was also unable to reach its goal because it was in the same frame of mind and had studied the situation incorrectly.

The international agreements in Paris in 1973 to settle the Vietnam issue was also unable to make the opposite side stop fighting. Phnom Penh fell followed by Saigon. These events made the Neo Lao [Pathet Lao] act deceitfully and proclaim themselves as the People's Revolutionary Party at the beck and call of Hanoi. They then seized total power in the tripartite coalition government, trampling on the international agreements of Geneva and the internal tripartite agreements. Later, North Vietnam would use diplomatic trickery to hoodwink people as though they were acting in total conformity with the law; they were then

able to take total control of Laos easily and peacefully. However, the Lao problem is still far from being solved. Armed struggle inside the country has erupted to resist oppression from north to south. Most notably the People's Republic of China has formally condemned the North Vietnamese hegemony in Laos just as they have supported the Kampuchean people in their struggle against the North Vietnamese aggressor which has been supported by the doctrine of social imperialism and supreme power-ism [lathi amnat soung sout nignom]. The lesson the Chinese taught the North Vietnamese in February 1979 revealed once again that the Indochina problem has not been solved at all. The international agreements at Geneva and Paris have simply become scraps of paper savagely trampled on by the North Vietnamese.

In conclusion, the erroneous basis of the international policies on solving the Lao problem has been in removing the solution from the environment of Indochina and Southeast Asia, disregarding and discounting the local expansion of power on the part of the supreme power-ism of North Vietnam. It also gave no thought to interdicting the spread of Soviet Russia's power which had replaced the United States in Indochina.

2. For this reason we consider it necessary to have a new solution to the Lao question, by putting the question into the context of Indochina and Southeast Asia. This is not to say that it will solve all the problems of Indochina.

China had helped Vietnam to drive out the great power colonialists of France; they also did the same to drive the United States from Indochina. China will do likewise to drive out the Soviet social imperialists. But this time it would be appropriate to solve the common problems of Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam, making nationalists in the three countries rejoice because it would restore their true peace, neutrality and total independence.

As for Laos and Kampuchea, since time immemorial China has respected and recognized their separate identities and independence. We must understand that China's role as great lord, maintaining its vassals as its retinue in the "Central Empire of the World" differs from the Western concept of paying legal tribute. Testimony to this is that China prevented the extermination of the Lao Kings in the 18th century. Further testimony is that today, China is fighting to prevent the imposition of Hanoi's social imperialism from controlling Laos and wiping out and exterminating them in order to impose their law on all the racial groups that make up Lao people.

The leaders in the Chinese Politburo have also told the Lao leaders that China will not interfere in any way in internal Lao political matters. China does not have the intention to impose its communist ideology on anyone beyond its borders. Laos must be governed by Lao who will decide their own path. This Chinese political principle is opposite that of

North Vietnam. The "Pathet Lao" and currently the People's Revolutionary Party is the spearhead of the Vietnamese communists who are trying to control all of Indochina by means of all sorts of schemes, including waging wars of aggression. The Kampuchean Communist Party knows about maintaining its independence vis-a-vis the Vietnam Communist Party. This is treason to that ideology's religion. Therefore, all acts are correct in North Vietnam's thinking, that would overthrow the treacherous Kampuchean Communist Party. The line of building an Indochina Federation [literally the United States of Indochina] has more definite basis. Now it has become colonialism. It has become the gobbling up of other countries by Vietnam.

Fascism in the guise of local social imperialism has appeared on the scene. It threatens to commit aggression against the way of life of the peoples of this part of Asia who love freedom, peace and independence.

For this reason, in order to totally resolve the Indochina question, the peoples of the area who do not wish to be ruled by the Vietnam Communist Party must rise up and organize battlefronts in their countries. They must also organize common strategies to wage protracted wars of liberation. The great power of China which feels threatened by the Russian social imperialism south of their country, will probably not stand idly by in this struggle. The voice of world opinion which moves the heart over the flight from their countries of the people of Indochina at this time is seeking a peaceful solution, by finding the root cause of the problem in the United Nations. This means that they are looking for a means to control and destroy the fascism of the North Vietnamese social imperialists supported by Soviet Russia. The voice of world opinion is not yet really paying attention to the North Vietnamese control of Laos even though China condemned it and has warned North Vietnam so as to support Laos and help it escape the threat of national extinction at the hands of the North Vietnamese and their lackeys who have replaced the Lao.

3. Faced with the horrible menace, the Lao people, the rightful and legal masters of the country, fighters for national salvation on Lao soil, have joined together in a liberation army for national salvation. We are the rightful masters of the nation; both those of us inside and outside the nation.

We have strongly protested by setting our hearts to a life in history and to carry on in the plans and in the destiny of the nation; for this reason we have chosen the month of August (the 8th month) and September (the 9th month) of 1979 to announce our appeal in the creation of the "Association for Peace, Neutrality and Total Independence for Laos." We announced and have continuously carried on our struggle so as to wrest independence and equality. We were organized on 1 September 1979 and on 15 September 1979 the Ad Hoc Committee became the secretariat so as to proceed to the Congress which will be called the "National Congress of the Masters of Laos" in order to mobilize a high degree of political

awareness of the patriotic nationalists, both inside and outside the nation.

All of us probably remember that on 9 August the poor, little Lao people who love peace, justice, neutrality and total independence rose up in unison to protest the politics of warfare and the politics of close alinement that 's both false and corrupt.

All of us probably also remember that in 1945, recognizing the victorious struggle of the patriotic nationalists making up the "Laos for the Lao" Movement which was to preserve the Lao identity because the Vietnamese people in Laos behaved as if they wanted to gobble up Laos, Prince Phetsarath proclaimed the independence of Laos on 1 September 1945 and on 15 September 1945 he proclaimed the unification and equality of the Lao nation, from north to south.

On our uprising on this occasion, we have set firm principles in the highest sense of our important historical event so as to progress to the establishment of political and military battlefronts in order to struggle for the liberation and restoration of our beloved land.

4. This front line is called the "Front for the Liberation and National Salvation of Laos," which when formally established, must be ratified at the appropriate time by the National Congress when the situation permits its meeting.

Today, in the liberated zones, with the Venerable Monk as a witness, we are:

--combatants joining together to become an army of liberation and national salvation, for our country north to south

--representatives of the National Congress

--masters of the Lao nation, people of all classes in the liberated zone which was the location for this ceremony.

We brilliantly proclaim to the world the establishment of the "Front for the Liberation and National Salvation of Laos" and the political plans for Laos' national salvation. We affirm the appointment of the chairman of the front and have given him special rights and full powers so that he may establish the Front's organs. We wish to swear that we will sacrifice everything, even our lives for the Front's goals:

To unite friends of the nation, patriots and all nationalist fighters without regard to political ideology, both inside and outside the country in order to mobilize all forces in liberating the nation from the clutches of North Vietnam and to restore Lao independence, unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality.

The slogans of the Liberation and National Salvation Front (NPL) are:

Peace

Neutrality

Total Independence

5. From the beginning our struggle is so that Laos may have liberty; to create peace for Laos and neutrality and total independence. We must reestablish our Lao national identity under the supervision of the United Nations. The new Laos will closely follow the path of peace, closely cooperating with all nations and in neutrality along the path that has already been stated in the Geneva agreements of 1954, 1962 and the 1973 Paris accords. We call this the path of the Buddhist way, based on a Lao-style socialism which will be derived from and applied in accordance with the Lao heritage, traditions, religion and culture since ancient times. In order to solve all the problems we will encounter in creating for Laos peace, neutrality and total independence, we will walk along the path of neutrality and justice with the highest ideals (Sila), with the greatest efforts (Somthi) and in seeing the future with clear-sighted wisdom (Panya). We will use as a principle the Buddhist scriptural term: "Unity in diversity" to solidly join together all the national minorities which make up the Lao nation in order to safeguard the identity and culture of every ethnic group with equality of rights and duties of the citizens to develop the nation together.

The new Laos unconditionally recognizes the UN Charter proclaimed by the International Assembly on Human Rights and UN agreements concerning the liberation of human beings from all types of oppression, slavery, colonialism, imperialism, racism and apartheid (the separation of races between blacks and whites). The new Laos will follow the Five Truths of Buddhism peacefully, cognizant of resolving differences and conflicts peacefully and without resorting to armed force and warfare.

The neutrality of Laos will have real benefit relying on promoting peace and cooperation between nations for national development.

In searching for solutions to the Lao question in particular and to the Indochina problem in general; in order for Laos to have peace, neutrality and independence, the Front for Liberation and National Salvation (NPL) considers it important that friendly diplomats mediate peacefully the errors; carry on foreign affairs discreetly and diligently by calling on the great powers who have gotten involved and are concerned [with the situation] in peace and security in accordance with the wishes of the people of Indochina and Southeast Asia to encourage discussion that would restore to Laos and Kampuchea their unity, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality, building a new Indochina in a spirit of love, peace, nonaggression, neutrality and independence.

II--Concerning the Politics of National Liberation in Terms of Foreign Affairs

1. The 5 December 1975 coup d'etat wiped out the royalist Lao regime and the national provisional coalition government which had been established in accordance with the stipulations of the Geneva accords and the tripartite Vientiane agreements. This was done with the participation of North Vietnamese social imperialism, carried out by the Lao Communist Party, the tool of Vietnamese communism so as to expand its realm. The North Vietnamese determination to display their power and their lack of respect for international law showed itself in a big way because of the United States' withdrawal from the Indochinese peninsula which became a reality with the signing of the 1973 Paris agreements and the excessive media praise for the indomitable power of the North Vietnamese Army. Since December 1975, North Vietnam has carried out all sorts of lawful schemes to formalize its suzerainty over Laos. For example there was the signing of a treaty of friendship and cooperation which seized the reins of power in Laos, the seizure of Lao territory by the North Vietnamese Army, brutal massacres, the expelling from the Mekong River plain of people who had built homes there. This was a vengeful, bullying policy which made people move elsewhere or even expelled great numbers of people from the country. This is unprecedented in history.

This grandiose North Vietnamese policy of gobbling up the nation was even more ferociously carried out against Kampuchea. They waged an overt war of aggression, seized the nation by means of their army and set up a puppet government. The lesson taught by China to North Vietnam at the beginning of 1979 destroyed part of North Vietnam's greatness and phony glory in which it had wrapped itself under the label of the "Heroic People's Army of North Vietnam."

2. In the face of North Vietnam's aggression against, control of, and gobbling up of Laos, and its total disregard for international law, we, the NPL appeal to the profound conscience of humanity to punish North Vietnamese socialism which is barbarically wiping out Lao independence, unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutrality. Laos is protected by the international Geneva convention which safeguards its existence as a model nation. We wish to demonstrate our respect and gratitude toward the righteous and honest China whose stand condemned and threatened North Vietnam before the world for its barbaric acts in Laos. We believe in morality; we are the lawful masters of the Lao nation and therefore we appeal to the United Nations to carry out anew the 1962 Geneva accords on Laos. In particular at this time world opinion is especially interested in seeing the United Nations resolve the Kampuchean issue on the basis of making Kampuchea free, neutral and independent with the cooperation of all Kampuchean political and military forces which are now fighting the North Vietnamese aggressors. In seeking a solution to the Lao problem we call upon the People's Republic of China and the ASEAN nations (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia,

Philippines) and the great powers who signed the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords and the 1973 Paris accords to submit to the United Nations an appeal for:

- A. Bringing the Lao problem before the UN General Assembly for debate and exchange of views at a time when the General Assembly might be seeking ways to solve the problem of Kampuchea or at a time when there might be international conventions with those objectives;
- B. Demand that North Vietnam unconditionally withdraw its army from Laos;
- C. Demand that the 1962 Geneva accords be carried out anew under UN supervision;
- D. Call for elections in Laos so that the people may choose their own path for the future and decide for themselves their regime.

3. In the struggle to reestablish peace, independence and neutrality in Laos and to promote our diplomatic relations, we are always prepared to cooperate in fighting shoulder to shoulder with all fronts and organizations of all oppressed people in Indochina, whether in or out of Indochina. Furthermore the common struggle of our three nations and peoples fighting against the local fascist social imperialism, colonialism and supreme powerism of North Vietnam must be expanded throughout the world. In that vein, we call upon oppressed people's liberation fronts worldwide, we call upon the peace-, justice- and freedom-loving peoples of the world to take a close, personal interest in our problem and to study the facts of our liberation struggle.

Why is it that even with the 1954 and 1962 Geneva accords and the 1973 Paris agreements that we still do not have peace and prosperity in Indochina and Southeast Asia? We would like once again to raise the issue of the erroneous basis of that matter; the misunderstanding in the making of international policy that seeks to solve the problems of each of the three countries of Indochina: First, thinking about solving the problems of each country without considering the problem in the context of the region's general environment. Secondly, neglecting to consider and underestimating Hanoi's expansion of power in the area and its great powerism. Third, the lack of thought on the principles of halting Soviet Russian expansionism which has come to fill the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the United States.

4. Therefore, in profoundly carrying out our foreign policy, which is to remove the above-mentioned three invalid presumptions from international political relations in order to totally and correctly resolve the Indochina problem we are going to create a new Indochina; one that loves peace, nonaggression, neutrality and independence by mobilizing our minds and consciences to join with the political fighting strength of all the oppressed people in Indochina.

An Indochina that loves peace, nonaggression, neutrality and independence is an Indochina that is demilitarized with no foreign military bases, is truly independent with no intervention from outside great powers and which genuinely carries out its own foreign policy on the basis of the actual situation and conditions in Southeast Asia for the enduring peace, security and stability which would facilitate an appropriate atmosphere for the region's development. We would approve of mutual respect among Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, living together in peace, nonalignment and able to gain the trust of their neighbors. The purpose of this would be to have ASEAN accept Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam as full members so as to make Southeast Asia a zone of freedom, peace and neutrality.

III--On the Struggle for Liberation and National Salvation

A. We have emphasized the carrying out of an ambitious foreign and diplomatic policy throughout the world on a wide scale for the purpose of restoring peace and stability to Indochina and Southeast Asia and also to progress in creating peace, neutrality and independence for Laos in an Indochina that loves peace, nonaggression, neutrality and independence. In this spirit we must work in a timely manner because we fear that the Lao question will be forgotten and simply abandoned as has been the case before; abandoned out of sight and away from the attention of world affairs in the international arena. This is because Laos is a small, poverty-stricken country without a large population and with no significant natural resources and has not yet been seen on its merits. In other words, Laos has no weight on the scale of the region of Southeast Asia, but rather the importance of Laos lies in our strategic position.

Socialist Vietnam's control over Laos by means of bringing its army in to commit aggression against Lao sovereignty is a direct threat to the ASEAN nations, with Thailand the first to be affected since it is on the front line. Our struggle for liberation and national salvation led by the NPL has as its initial task to proclaim to the world our struggle; that we do not accept the present regime in Laos, that we have a liberated zone and that we have an armed force of Lao liberation and national salvation (ALP).

B. In our struggle for liberation and national salvation, all combat units are resisting in the nation today. They are joining together as the Army of Liberation and National Salvation (ALP). The supreme command and the general staff of the supreme commander were established immediately in the liberated zone to plan strategy and carry out tactics and make plans to attack the enemy so as to protect and maintain the strength of the struggle for liberation and national salvation. We set up hero units to give our armed force a strong revolutionary will. Our armed force (the ALP) is made up of the male and female children of the lawful masters of the nation. They have received good support from all the people and comprise all nationalities and racial groups who together make up the Lao nation. This armed force must mobilize for self-sufficiency as a major principle by making each liberated area a production unit able to support

its officers and enlisted men in an all-round manner. We must liberate a zone on the border with a great power which has an ideology appropriate to that of our struggle, in order to parallel the national salvation as well as being a witness in building the new Laos into an independent, peaceful and neutral nation.

C. A peaceful Laos in the liberated zone means that we will govern that zone by means of true democracy. By democracy we mean that the people will volunteer to join us of their own truly free will; they will be joining for citizenship in the survival of the nation and their lives. We will do everything for the poor, little people, the people who have been forgotten in their fields (those without enough to eat, without enough clothing, without medical treatment, without housing). We will do everything for the forgotten poor to build mutual cooperation. We will do everything to respect and maintain the individuality of the people in every way so that they may have calm and warmth, both mental and physical. The government of the liberated zone will respect the same principles as those of the army--it will live with the people as the fish live in the water. Those who govern will come from the ranks of the "Front for the Liberation and National Salvation of Laos" (NPL), which has been organized on a principle of political, economic and social democracy, with the 10 principles of Buddhist doctrine as follows:

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|-------------|---|
| *Thana | The broadness of the heart so the nation will last |
| *Sila | The highest qualities being the Five Truths [of Buddhism] |
| *Parichakha | Sacrifice, even to the death of oneself, for the sake of the people |
| *Assava | Honesty to the people |
| *Mattava | Being civilized |
| *Tapa | Being thrifty, not being wasteful in consumption |
| *Akkotha | Not being vengeful, not carrying a grudge |
| *Avihimsa | Not being violent, angry; being peace-loving |
| *Khanti | Being industrious, forgiving, patiently striving to overcome obstacles and carelessness |
| *Avihotha | Never going against the will of the masses, keeping in step with the people |

The neutral Laos in the liberated zone means that we will not interfere in the lives and privacy of the people, we will respect their spiritual beliefs, religion and culture. We will respect their freedom and human

rights. We will respect the value of human life so as to make them advance in line with the abundant lives of the new society.

The independent Laos in the liberated zone means that we will live by and protect ourselves, helping the little people "those without enough food, those without enough clothing, those without medicine, those without housing, the miserable ones." We will give them good health so they will develop and plant rice, vegetables, crops, raise livestock, weave cloth, make handicrafts and generate for themselves sufficient income so they may have housing, rice to eat, clothes to wear, medicine to cure sickness, in other words "the four needs" well supplied.

In summary the liberated zone, one part of the entire Lao territory, will be a picture of the new Laos of the future. It will be without the great menace of the false socialism of the present regime which is in its true nature a colonialist regime, a regime which exploits and lives off the little, poverty-stricken people, grabbing the profits for a fascist party, the tool of the local social imperialists of Hanoi.

D. This picture of the Laos that is independent, peaceful and neutral will be expanded step by step throughout the territory of Laos. When the time comes that our liberation and national salvation has made the border zone independent and finally victorious, we reiterate that our government in the new liberated zone will be as different as the ground is from the sky from that of the present government which uses socialism as a mask to deceive and conceal their exploitation of the people's labor all in the interest and glorification of the state, in which the state is the capitalist. This is not socialism. Our officials will follow a Buddhist ideology, attempting to create a social environment that will fit in with appropriate development of the little, poverty-stricken people, by rooting out all types of human oppression from Lao society.

In accordance with Buddhist philosophy, there are three important types of fate or works [karma]: First, the work that gives people the opportunity to use and develop their minds and their own abilities. Second, works that make people force their own selfish thoughts to be of use by joining together to work with others for common tasks. Third, works that produce things and provide the things necessary to carry on life in a most respectable way.

Attaching these meanings to works [karma] is characteristic of Buddhist-type socialism. The socialism that exists in Laos presently is simply a doctrine of subjugation. As for us Buddhists, our economic system is directly opposite from that of the modern, materialistic economy.

Buddhist philosophy is of the opinion that the true nature of civilization is not that it should increase wants and needs, but that it makes the human attitude and character more pure by putting works above all else. Works that make the person doing them a great person, giving that

which he produces meaning when in creating the conditions of those works, there is respect for the worth of man and the freedom of man, Buddho-socialism respects the value of religion and belief. As for us, Buddho-socialism is the true way of developing the middle way between the destructiveness of materialism and the lack of progress of traditionalism. In summary, it is a way to carry out our lives in the search for the way we can make a living justly or "Sammāsiva" which is a principle in the Eight-Fold Path of the Lord Buddha who is "Athaṅkhamakkha."

IV--After Laos Is Liberated

1. The Liberated Laos

It will be a tremendous victory of the Lao people and the ultimate hope, goal and attainment of wisdom in our struggle for liberation and national salvation. The new Laos will have a government that comes from the ballot of every one of the Lao masses. The slogans of the new Laos will be: Independent Laos, Peaceful Laos, Neutral Laos. Laos will be a Buddho-socialist country. It will respect the dignity of the human being and the freedom of man. It will respect the value of religion and spiritual and mental belief. The new Laos will enter into close ties with the path of peace, cooperating closely with all nations in order to develop the nation for the most rapid progress. The new Laos will carry out the five truths [of morality] living together in peace, not getting involved with one side or the other, being nonaligned in carrying out a foreign policy. By not getting involved with one side or another and being nonaligned we mean that we will have total independence in peace and neutrality. The new Laos will be cognizant of carrying out ways of solving problems and conflicts in a peaceful manner and without resorting to the use of force and warfare. The new Laos will unconditionally recognize and accept the UN Charter that is universally accepted on human rights and all UN agreements regarding the appropriate development of man in human society that is filled with peace, justice and freedom.

2. The new Laos appeals to calls on all its children who have fled from their homeland for the love of life and freedom to return to their beloved homeland. The new Laos will be pleased to welcome them warmly with open arms. Their property, houses, orchards, fields and paddies will be returned to them. We will honor the students in all fields of study, engineers, and technicians of all areas of expertise because it is they who will be appointed as higher officials, a very scarce commodity, so as to develop the nation rapidly.

3. In order to create close cooperation for love between brothers and sisters, for peace and harmony between all the races and nationalities that make up the Lao people, we will adhere to this Buddhist scriptural lesson which will be strictly carried out: "Unity in Diversity" in order to preserve the identity, the beliefs in traditions and in the culture of each minority in a spirit of equality in rights, duties and in joining together for national development in the true meaning of the word.

4. As for foreigners who have roots in Laos going back into the past and have a true role in the development of Laos, they may also return to the new Laos without fear for their lives and property. It is up to them if they wish to take out Lao citizenship in line with the law without obstacles. Any of their possessions that came from honest construction will be returned to them in order to rebuild the new Laos. The new democratic and free Laos appeals to foreign investors to invest in Laos and build shops and stores, industrial plants, expand the cultivation of industrial crops, raise livestock for industry, and make surveys for the exploitation and development of forests, mineral resources, land and water resources in our country. The government will make broad guarantees for those funds invested to encourage everlasting progress for the Lao economy.

5. We can see that it is in single-minded solidarity, in equality and in freedom that we will salvage and build our country together. The new Laos will organize its rebuilding, refitting and national development based on the philosophy, attitude and ideology of a clear-sighted view of the future that is appropriate to the just demands and needs of all races and nationalities that make up the Lao nation. The development of our nation lies in the principle of having many commodities for consumption before all else. This is because consumption (eating and using things) is but a path on the way to the well-being of the individual. The goal of development is to create the greatest possible amount of happiness for people by consumption as conditions permit. This path of development will permit us to pursue our lives in good health, in cleanliness and comfort which will avoid the social violence of today which holds consumption above all else. The most prominent characteristic of this form of development is that it will bring peace and happiness to the little, poverty-stricken people of the present generation first. For the peace and happiness of future generations we must also build a solid foundation for development by respecting the dignity of the person and the freedom of man. It is useless if the value of goods lags behind the zone of production. It is most necessary to use the utmost labor of the least of us, or the millions of the least capable. Our form of government will be composed of officials at all levels, patriots and experts who profoundly understand and carry out the 10 points of government in accordance with the principles of [Buddhist] dogma--making mutually consistent economic and social plans that will be multifaceted in a scope which will have liberation as its most important principle. The little, poverty-stricken people will be taken from their hunger, sickness, ignorance in illiteracy and lack of knowledge about world affairs and all their fears.

6. The new Laos will safeguard its identity. We will restore the value of the Lao people's religion and belief, and the traditions of a thousand years that nothing could ever replace. Buddhism will be the national religion, prosperous as before, sacred and precious. Moreover, we will respect the freedom to follow other religions. The new Laos will encourage everything that is in the common interest. Speaking and talking together in solidarity as in the traditional way, village life for the

development of the locality. We will educate and train everyone in the meaning of works [karma] in accordance with the [Buddhist] doctrine. We will reinstitute the freedom of the individual, freedom to safely establish a household, freedom of movement and privacy of communication by mail. There will be freedom of assembly, speech and of the press. There will be freedom to engage in commerce and industry. We will encourage culture and traditional arts and sports of all the nationalities which make up the Lao nation. We will encourage basic education and will wipe out illiteracy. We will give each nationality their own books for the love of the country and to [teach them] to sacrifice for the common good. We will promote democracy by having the people decide for themselves directly matters of state and government of the minorities.

A. The new Laos will build the nation by making plans for reconstruction and development of the economy and society by means of its own resources and foreign assistance. There will be a central board in charge to avoid a scattered effort and fragmentation of labor and to avoid waste, failure and inefficiency. The reconstruction will emphasize fundamental programs in communications, roads and serving the development of rural society, such as schools, hospitals, health treatment centers and plans to develop the Buddho-economy. Every effort will be made to reach the goals. Production must come from our land and water resources first of all, which will be the basis of our commercial economy.

We will do everything for self-sufficiency: the development of agriculture and animal husbandry, artisan and handicrafts; the surveying and exploitation and development of land and water resources will be our priority task. In building agricultural industry we will encourage semi-governmental investment because there is so little private capital; only the government can stand behind funds borrowed from foreign countries to be invested in industries promoted by the government. We will approve of cooperation between the localities and nearby foreign countries because there are few markets for our people. Furthermore, geography in our country does not make things very easy since we do not have an outlet to the sea. Therefore we will approve of plans to develop the Mekong River Basin under UN supervision and approval.

In order for our people to be ready and willing to be diligent in their efforts in national development we must include in our plans the training and education of our people in the struggle against illiteracy, the expansion of health networks and in the struggle to wipe out disease.

V--The Decision for the Struggle for Liberation and National Salvation

With the announcement of the political program, the Liberation and National Salvation Front (NPL) has decided to carry out this struggle until final victory. The NPL appeals to the profound consciousness of humanity, to the governments of all nations and to the people of the world who love peace, freedom and justice to support and assist the Lao

people in their search for a just and lasting solution to the Lao problem. This problem is very closely related to the problems of oppressed people throughout Indochina.

If a solution is found, it will bring true peace and stability to Southeast Asia. We believe above all else that an Indochina that loves peace, nonaggression, neutrality and independence will be a place where today's problems of chaos and tension will be solved. Indochina will be without war and conflict when all countries, members of the UN, give their cooperation and assistance to forcing resistance to North Vietnam's great-powerism and make North Vietnam abandon its plans to gobble up Laos and Kampuchea.

In the meantime, while waiting for a solution to the above-mentioned situation that will establish peace, tranquility and stability on the Indochinese peninsula, we believe in the force of justice and the certainty of our struggle. We will raise high our banner of victory joining together with other oppressed people's fronts for liberation and national salvation throughout Indochina to drive out and resist the enemy. We will expand our liberated zone, liberating homes, fields and farms.

The North Vietnamese aggressor must leave our sacred and beloved land, our land that has been seized, robbed and plundered; it must be returned to us with no conditions whatsoever.

Down with North Vietnamese social imperialist fascism!

Long live an independent, peaceful and neutral Laos!

May the Lao Front for Liberation and National Salvation grow and prosper!

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